

FAULTS on both SIDES:

Part the Second.

OR, AN

ESSAY

UPON

The Original Cause, Progress, and Mischievous Consequences of the Factions in the CHURCH.

SHEWING,

That the CLERGY, of whatsoever Denomination, have always been the Ring-Leaders and Beginners of the Disturbances in Every State; imposing upon the Credulity of the LAITY, for no other End than the Accomplishing their own Selfish Designs, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquillity of the NATION.

Faithfully Produced from the most Eminent Authorities.

SINCERELY INTENDED

For allaying the Heats and Animosities of the People, and persuading all Honest, Well-meaning Men to compose their Party Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for promoting the Publick Good, and Safety of their QUEEN and Country.

By way of LETTER to
A New MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

*Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem,
Pompejusve parem.* ————— *Lucan.*

L O N D O N: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers
of London and Westminster, 1710.



T

S

S

ver
you
ticu
fent
the
ten
wh
are
for
the
stri
Par

see
Bul
mu

A N
E S S A Y :

SHEWING

The Original Cause, Progress,
and Mischievous Consequences of the
Factions in the CHURCH.

S I R,

Oxford, Dec. 5th. 1710.

SINCE my Return Home I have frequently recollected, with the greatest Satisfaction, several Passages of that Learned and Instructive Conversation which I often had the Honour of Enjoying in your Company, during my Stay in *London*; more particularly, Sir, the Discourse we had concerning the Present Posture of Affairs both in Church and State, and the Mischievous Consequences which are likely to attend the Nation, by that great Height and Violence to which all Parties are now fomented, if some Methods are not speedily thought of by your Honourable House, for the composing of these Differences, by looking into the very Source from whence they arose, and administering, with the strictest Justice, upon the *Guilty* of all Parties *the Due Reward of their Deeds*.

'Tis Matter of the most surprizing Admiration, to see Men carried away into such Party-Prejudices by the Bulk and Gross as you very well observ'd, without so much as the least Enquiry into the real *Faults on both*

Sides, or making a true Judgment, by avoiding the Extremes of all Parties, and comparing Matters of Fact, which is undoubtedly the only way of representing all Popular Objects in a Clear Light; but instead of this, the Leaders of each Clan run themselves a-ground with a precipitated kind of Madness and Inveterate Hatred of each other's Person, upon the bare Account of entertaining some different Opinions; which, in short, is such a Monstrous Piece of Ridicule, that we may with the same Equality of Justice, Quarrel one with another about the Variety of our Complexions, or any other Natural Infirmity.

I shall now, Sir, since you have often requested it of me, shew the Folly of this Inequitable Way of Procedure, by tracing the *Faults of the Clergy of both Sides*, during the same space of Time in which the *Political Faults* have been survey'd; and since *RELIGION* is the Subject of our Present Contention, I hope my Design will meet with a Candid Approbation among all Parties, when I sincerely declare that I have no other Prospects in View but what are intended for the allaying of our Heats and Animosities, and persuading all Honest, Well-meaning Men to Compose their Party-Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for promoting the Publick Good, and Safety of our most Gracious *Queen* and Country.

In Prosecution of my Design, I shall first give you (in the Words of the Learned and Judicious

* *Vide M. Bayle's*
Diet. Artic. of *Ab-*
das, Vol. I.

* *M. Bayle*) an Account of the Behaviour of a Turbulent Bishop, even in the most early Days of Christianity, what Sentiments were at that Time Entertain'd of him, and the Dreadful Consequences that attended his Rash and Inconsiderate Zeal.

“ *ABDAS*, a Bishop in *Persia* in the Time of *Theodosius* Junior, was, through his Inconsiderate Zeal, the Cause of a very Terrible Persecution which was rais'd against the Christians, who enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conscience in *Persia*, when this Bishop took upon him to pull down one of the Temples where

“ the

“ i
“ t
“ a
“ d
“ d
“ w
“ d
“ li
“ v
“ u
“ ty
“ ca
“ to
“ al
“ st
“ ca
“ th
“ be
“ la
“ th
“ flu
“ Cl
“ Pe
“ th
“ of
“ cor

*
“Twa
ding
ranes,
deter
gi ma
ness t
mann
them
Sea;
viol
Years
Impo

" the *Persians* worshipp'd the Fire. * The *Magi* made
 " their Complaints to the King, who sent for *Abdas*,
 " and after a mild Censure order'd him to Rebuild that
 " Temple. *Abdas* refus'd to do it, though the Prince
 " declar'd to him, That in case of Disobedience, he
 " would cause all the Christian Churches to be pull'd
 " down. Which he did, and all the Faithful were de-
 " liver'd up to the Mercy of the Priests, who being
 " vex'd at the Toleration that had been granted, fell
 " upon 'em with great Fury. *Abdas* was the first *Mar-*
 " *tyr* who lost his Life on this Occasion; if we may so
 " call a Man, who by his Rashness expos'd the Church
 " to so many Misfortunes. The Christians, who had
 " already forgot one of the most essential Parts of Chri-
 " stian Patience, had recourse to a Remedy which oc-
 " casion'd another Deluge of Blood. They implor'd
 " the Assistance of *Theodosius*, which kindled a long War
 " between the *Romans* and *Persians*. 'Tis true, that the
 " latter was worsted: But was there any certainty that
 " they should not overcome the *Romans*, and that being
 " flush'd with Victory, instead of Persecuting only the
 " Christians in *Persia*, they would not exercise a general
 " Persecution in all the other Churches? The Fury of
 " the Persecutors could scarce be satisfied in the Space
 " of Thirty Years: Thus we see what Mischiefs the In-
 " considerate Zeal of a Private Man may occasion.

* The *Magi* made their Complaints to the King. }
 'Twas *Isdegerdes*, if we rely upon *Theodoret*; but accor-
 ding to *Socrates*, the Persecution begun only under *Vara-*
ranes, Son and Successor of *Isdegerdes*. *Baronius* dares not
 determine which of the Two is in the Right. The *Ma-*
gi may be properly call'd Priests, for it was their Busi-
 ness to take care of Holy Matters, and to prevent all
 manner of Innovation in Religion. *Theodoret* compares
 them to a Whirlwind, which raises the Waves of the
 Sea; such was their Function in the Storm that toss'd so
 violently the Church of *Persia*, for the Space of Thirty
 Years. *Socrates* tells us, That they made use of several
 impostures to put a stop to the Progress of the Christian
 Religion,

Religion, when they saw that the Love *Isdegerdes* had conceiv'd for the Holy Bishop *Maruthas*, gave them Reason to fear, that he would forsake their Religion. They were so bold as to hide a Man under-ground, in the Temple where the King used to worship the Fire ; and they order'd him to cry out, when the King should come in, *That Prince ought to be dethron'd, who has been so Impious as to believe, that a Christian Priest is a Friend of God.*

If what is most falsely said by Impious Men were True, *Viz.* That Religion is a meer Humane Invention, set up by the Sovereigns to keep Subjects within the Bounds of Obedience, how could it be denied, that Princes are the first who have been taken in their own Snàres? For Religion is so far from making them Masters of their Subjects, that on the contrary it submits them to their Subjects ; inasmuch as they are oblig'd to profess the Religion of their People, and not that which seems to them to be the Best : But if they are resolv'd to profess a Religion different from that of their Subjects, they run the Hazard of losing their Crown. We see how the *Persian Magi* threaten'd their King, tho' he had only caress'd one Bishop. It has been said, that the last King of *Siam* was dethron'd for having too much favoured the Christian Missionaries. The same *Socrates*, who mentions the Artifices made use of by the *Magi*, to put a stop to the Propagation of the Gospel, tells us likewise, that after the Death of *Isdegerdes*, they inspir'd his Son with such a Spirit of Persecution, that a horrid Cruelty was Exercis'd against the Christians. They had endeavour'd, but in vain, to inspire his Father with the same Spirit ; for he was like to embrace the Gospel. Tho' *Socrates* is to blame for not owning sincerely, that the Rash Action of Bishop *Abdas* afforded the *Magi* a very plausible Pretence. All the Church Historians are not Guilty of the Unfincerity for which I blame *Socrates* ; for *Theodosius* does ingenuously confess, that the Bishop, who pull'd down a Temple, occasion'd the dreadful Persecution of the Christians in *Persia*. He does not deny but that the Zeal of that Bishop was unseasonable ; but he maintains, that his refusing to rebuild such a Temple

is worthy of Admiration, and deserves a Crown : For methinks, says he, 'tis as great an Impiety to build a Temple to the Fire, as to worship it.

For my own part, I am of Opinion, That no Private Men, whether they be Metropolitans or Patriarchs, can at any time be dispens'd from this Law of Natural Religion. The Damage that has been done to one's Neighbour ought to be made up by Restitution, or some other way. Now *Abdas* a meer private Man, and a Subject of the *Persian* King, Destroy'd what did belong to others, and was so much the more Privileged, because it belong'd to the prevailing Religion ; he was therefore indispensably obliged to obey the Orders of his Sovereign, by restoring what he had destroy'd : And it was no good Excuse to say, That the Temple which he was order'd to rebuild was design'd for the Use of Idolaters ; for he was not to put it to thar Use, and he could not be answerable for the Abuse of those whom it did belong to. Would it be a good Reason for Robbing a Man, to say he spends his Money extravagantly ? Let him do so ; you are not answerable to God for the Follies he commits : Let him enjoy what is his own ; what Right have you to it ? Besides, could there be any Comparison between the Destruction of a Temple, without which, the *Persians*, would have remain'd as great Idolaters as they were before, and occasion'd the Destruction of many Christian Churches ? *Abdas* should therefore have prevented this Last Evil by the First, since the Prince put it to his Choice. Lastly, Can any thing render the Christian Religion more odious to all the Nations of the World, than to see, that after they have insinuated themselves, as only desiring the Liberty of teaching their Doctrine, they are so bold as to Destroy the Temples consecrated to the Religion of the Country, and refuse to rebuild them when the Sovereign commands it ? Is it not to give occasion to say ; These Men desire at First a meer Toleration, but in a little time, they'll pretend to share with us all Employments and Places of Trust, and then become our Masters : At first they think themselves very happy if they are not Burnt, afterwards very unhappy,

happy, if they have fewer Privileges than those who are of the Establish'd Religion; and then again miserable, if they are not the only prevailing Party. During a certain time they are like *Cæsar*, who would have no Master; and then they are like *Pompey*, who would have no Partner?

The Persecutors of the *French* Protestants did maliciously inspire *Charles IX.* with such a Thought. 'Tis said, that Prince made use of these words, speaking to the Admiral *de Coligni*. "Such are the unavoidable Inconveniences which they expose themselves to, who maintain so warmly, that the Power of the Secular Arm ought to be made use of for the Establishment of Orthodoxy. Such were the Principles of *Abbas*: For what would he not have done with Force of Arms against the Idolaters under a Christian Emperor, since under a Heathen Prince who tolerated the Christian Religion, he pull'd down a Temple for which the Heathens had a very particular Veneration?

Thus, Sir, have I faithfully laid before you the Article *M. Bayle* gives us of *Abbas*, together with his own Remarks, and am not insensible that tho' I have chosen this Example of an inconsiderate and rash Zeal to introduce my present Design, that upon first sight our Clergy will fall foul upon me for so doing; because they reckon *M. Bayle* an Enemy to all reveal'd Religion; which will be a Demonstration of that Vice I am endeavouring to correct in them. 'Tis not my Business here to enquire into *M. Bayle's* Principles, but supposing him to be such a Person as they would represent him to the World, yet must nothing that he says be regarded? This is indeed the True and Fatal Cause of all our former, and present Uneasinesses, in being carried away wholly by Prejudice, and not allowing the least time for Recollection.

I shall now prosecute my intended Design without making the least Reflection, leaving Matter of Fact to speak for it self; the Instance of *Abbas* already recited is sufficient to shew the Dismal Effects brought about by an Inconsiderate Zeal in the Early Days of Christianity,

and

and it being needless to look any further into Remote Parts, I will now confine my self to *English* Examples, and refer to the Authors themselves, for the Proof of what I assert.

The First Instance I shall produce, is the Behaviour of the Clergy in King *Henry II's* Time; thus delivered by that Learned and Impartial Historian

* Sir *Bulstrode Whitlocke*; — “ In the

* *Whitlocke's Memo-
rials*, fol, Pag. 47.
seq. lately Publish'd
by W. Penn, Anno
1709.

“ VIth. Year of his Reign, King *Henry*

“ looks to the Prerogatives of his

“ Crown, infring'd by the Clergy,

“ whose Power he had found too

“ great in the Business between his Mother and King

“ *Stephen*; and he doubted how they might deal with

“ his Posterity. The Lay Nobility laid more Weights,

“ informing the King, That the Clergy hindred the

“ Execution of Justice, held their Dominion a-part;

“ and, being exempt from Secular Punishments, com-

“ mitted many Enormous Acts, and no Redress to be

“ had. That since his Reign, about an 100 Manslaugh-

“ ters had been committed by Men in Orders.

“ The VII. Year, The King had prefer'd *Thomas*

“ *Becket*, a Creature and Servant of his, to be Archbi-

“ shop of *Canterbury*; whom he expected ready to ad-

“ vance all his Affairs, made him Chancellor, and gave

“ him the Education of the Prince. The Clergy had

“ got their Jurisdiction much Enlarg'd and Strengthen'd.

“ The King calls a Parliament, and propoundeth, That

“ such of the Clergy as should be convicted of any hei-

“ nous Offence, should lose the Privilege of the Church,

“ and be punish'd by the Civil Magistrate as other Sub-

“ jects were.

“ The IX. Year, *Becket* and the other, Bishops and

“ Clergy, oppos'd this, being against the Liberties of

“ the Church. The King demanded, if they would sub-

“ mit to the Laws and Customs which the Bishops, in

“ the Time of *Henry I.* did observe: i. e.

“ † To acknowledge the King as supreme Judge

† Vide the same
Historian, Pag.
40.

“ in Ecclesiastical Affairs, granting him the

“ Power of Redressing all Grievances Complain'd

“ of by the Laity, &c. They answer’d they would; Their
 “ Order, the Honour of God, and Holy Church, in all
 “ Things sav’d. The King displeas’d with this Reserva-
 “ tion, breaks up the Parliament, denies *Becket* access
 “ to him, takes from him what he could, and counte-
 “ nances those who oppos’d him.

“ The Pope and Cardinals writ to *Becket* to reconcile
 “ this Jar, and to make Peace with his Lord the King,
 “ and to promise to observe his Laws without Excep-
 “ tion; which *Becket* did promise to the King. Who
 “ thereupon calls a Parliament at *Clarendon*, where they
 “ were charg’d to reduce the Laws of *Henry I.* the King’s
 “ Grand-father, into Writing: Which being done, the
 “ King willed the Archbishop and Bishops to set to them
 “ their Seals, which the rest were content to do, but
 “ *Becket* refus’d it. At length the rest persuaded him,
 “ and intimated Danger, by the King’s Servants rushing
 “ up and down with threat’ning Countenances: Where-
 “ upon *Becket* took his Oath, to observe the King’s Laws
 “ without any Reservation. Then taking the Writing
 “ into his Hand, he said to the Clergy, *Brethren, stand*
 “ *fast, you see the Malice of the King, and that we are bound*
 “ *to beware:* And so the Council ended, but not the King’s
 “ Displeasure; when only he found to bear up against
 “ him, who had so much favour’d him.

“ He therefore proceeds to disgrace him; and to ad-
 “ vance the Archbishop of *York* above him, writes to the
 “ Pope to make him Legate: But he refus’d, and sent
 “ his Legation to the King, so as he should do nothing
 “ to grieve *Becket*. But the King, in Indignation, sent
 “ back the Pope’s Grant, as an Indignity to him.

“ *Becket* repents of his Oath at *Clarendon*, suspends
 “ himself, and doth Penance till the Pope sent him an
 “ Absolution: Then he endeavours to go to *Rome* with
 “ the King’s Leave, contrary to the Law made at *Clare-*
 “ *ndon* (but by contrary Winds brought back) which
 “ more exasperated the King. Then he is summon’d
 “ to a Parliament at *Northampton*: Suits in Law go a-
 “ gainst him, he is call’d to Account for the King’s Mo-
 “ nies, and pleads his Acquittance for all Receipts. The
 “ King

" King urged to have Judgment against him, and he is
 " summon'd to appear.

" In the Morning of his Appearance, he saith the Mass
 " of *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr, and comes to Court in
 " his *Pontificalibus*, carrying the Cross; for which he was
 " blamed by the other Bishops, who offer'd to pull it
 " out of his Hand, but he held it fast.

" The Archbishop of *York*, his Ancient Adversary,
 " rebukes him sharply for coming thus as to a Tyrant or
 " Heathen Prince; and told him, *The King had a Sword*
 " *sharper than his Cross.* *Becket* reply'd, *The King's Sword*
 " *wounds carnally, but mine strikes spiritually, and sends the*
 " *Soul to Hell.*

" *Becket* inveighs at the Proceedings against the Spiritu-
 " al Father of the King, and of all his Subjects, espe-
 " cially by the Sons of the Church; and he appeals to
 " the Pope. The Parliament cry'd he was a Traytor,
 " that having receiv'd so many Benefits from the King,
 " refus'd to do him Earthly Honour, and to obey his
 " Laws which he had sworn to: And the Bishops re-
 " nounced their Ecclesiastical Obedience to him, cited
 " him to *Rome*, and condemned him as a perjur'd Man
 " and a Traytor. Being charg'd to answer, he refus'd
 " to stand to the Judgment of the King, or any other
 " Person; saying, *They were bound to obey God and Him,*
 " *rather than any Earthly Creature.* Then he departed,
 " and disguising himself got into *Flanders*, and so to
 " *France.*

" Presently King *Henry* sends to the King of *France* not
 " to countenance *Becket*, a Rebel against his King; yet
 " the King of *France* sends to the Pope in *Becket's* Be-
 " half.

" King *Henry* sends divers Bishops and Lords Com-
 " missioners to the Pope, to inform him of *Becket's*
 " Cause; which they did, and of his Crime and Pee-
 " vishness, very fully: But they not being able to pre-
 " vail with the Pope, came away in Discontent. Then
 " *Becket* brought to the Pope the Laws made at *Claren-*
 " *don*; which being read before him, the Cardinals,
 " and the rest of the Cletgy, they condemned them,

“ and all that obey’d or favour’d them, being smart a-
 “ gainst the Church’s Privileges.

“ King *Henry* ordains, That if any bring Letters of
 “ Interdiction from the Pope, he shall forthwith be exe-
 “ cuted as a Traytor; that no Clergy-man shall pass
 “ over Sea without License; forbids Appeals to *Rome*,
 “ and *Peter Pence*; banisheth all *Becket’s* Kindred, and
 “ adheres to the Anti-Pope; this exasperates Pope *Alex-*
 “ *ander*, who writes to the Clergy of *England* to oppose
 “ the King; excommunicates his special Ministers who
 “ adher’d to the *German* Faction, *Alexander’s* Enemies;
 “ and those who had enter’d upon the Goods of the
 “ Church of *Canterbury*.

“ *Becket* having now been a considerable time abroad,
 “ the XVI. Year the Pope writes to some Bishops, to
 “ admonish the King to desist from intruding upon the
 “ Liberties of the Church, and to restore Archbishop
 “ *Becket*.

“ The Bishops write a long Answer to the Pope, gi-
 “ ving him an Account of the King’s Answer to their
 “ Message, and the Reasons of his Proceedings.

“ The King of *France* mediates with King *Henry*, when
 “ in *Normandy*, to be reconciled to *Becket*; King *Henry* to
 “ please his Brother of *France*, made an end of the Dif-
 “ ference with the Clergy. And the King of *France*,
 “ with King *Henry* and *Becket* meet: He at the King’s
 “ Feet, saith, *He will refer all to his Royal Order, God’s*
 “ *Honour only reserv’d*.

“ King *Henry* in Choler said, *Whatsoever displeaseth this*
 “ *Man, he would have it to be against God’s Honour: But*
 “ *that you may see I will not resist God’s Honour, and him,*
 “ *look what the greatest and most Holy of all his Predecessors,*
 “ *have done to the meanest of mine: Let him do the same to*
 “ *me, and it shall suffice.*

“ *Becket* reply’d peremptorily: So that the King of
 “ *France*, and all with him, were satisfied of the King’s
 “ Proceedings, and of *Becket’s* Frowardness; yet at length
 “ they were reconciled; And afterwards the King wrote
 “ a Letter to his Son, the young King *Henry*, command-
 “ ing him to restore *Becket* to his See.

“ *Becket*

“ *Becket* returning to *England*, suspended the Archbi-
 “ shop of *York* for crowning the Young King without
 “ his Leave within his Province, and against the Pope’s
 “ Command : He had Letters also to suspend other Bi-
 “ shops that officiated at the Coronation.

“ The Bishops resort to the King in *Normandy*, ac-
 “ quaint him with *Becket*’s Proceedings ; and that he was
 “ grown so Imperious, that there was no living under
 “ him : Wherewith the King was so much moved, that
 “ he is said to utter these Words ; *In what a Miserable*
 “ *State am I, that cannot be quiet in my own Kingdom for*
 “ *ONE only Priest ! Is there no Man will rid me of this*
 “ *Trouble ?* At which words, some report, Four Knights
 “ guessing the King’s Mind, went into *England* to the
 “ Archbishop ; others say, they were sent to him from
 “ the King to take off the Suspension from the Bishops,
 “ and to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the
 “ Young King.

“ These Four Knights came to the Archbishop, and
 “ finding him peremptory, and not regarding their Ma-
 “ ster the King, they entered in their Armour into the
 “ Church, whither *Becket* was withdrawn, and the Monks
 “ at Divine Service : There they reviled the Archbishop,
 “ called him Traytor, gave him many Wounds, and
 “ struck out his Brains, that his Blood besprinkled the
 “ Altar.

“ He died with much Courage, committing the
 “ Cause of the Church, with his Soul, to God and the
 “ Saints. The Circumstances and Hatred of the Deed,
 “ made Compassion and Opinion to be on his Side.
 “ The Murderers durst not go back to the King, but
 “ within 4 Years all of them died miserable Fugitives.

“ The King of *France* and the Earl of *Blous* inform
 “ the Pope of this Wicked Fact, and excite him to un-
 “ sheath *St. Peter*’s Sword, and take Revenge for *Becket*’s
 “ Martyrdom.

“ The Archbishop of *Sens* writes to the Pope, *That*
 “ *he was appointed over Nations and Kingdoms, to bind their*
 “ *Kings in Fetters, and their Nobles with Manacles of Iron ;*
 “ *that all Power, both in Heaven and Earth, was given to*
 “ *his*

“ *his Apostleship* : bids him look how the Boar of the Wood hath
 “ rooted up the Vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth ; and then
 “ rails bitterly against the King imbruing the *Sanctum*
 “ *Sanctorum* with Blood, and tearing in pieces the Vice-
 “ gerents of Christ, &c. concluding with an Exhortation,
 “ that he would arm all the Ecclesiastical Power for
 “ Revenge.

“ The King employ'd the ablest Men he could chuse,
 “ to declare his Innocence to the Pope, and how grie-
 “ vously he took the Matter ; yet the Pope denied Au-
 “ dience to his Ambassadors, and the Cardinals refus'd
 “ Conference with them : But they wrought so by Apo-
 “ logies and Remonstrances, and dealt so, as they kept
 “ off the highest Censure, daily threaten'd and expected.
 “ They gravely urg'd the Mischiefs that might follow
 “ in the Church, if a King of so great a State and Sto-
 “ mach should be driven to take Desperate Courses.

“ The Pope sent two Legates into *Normandy* to Inter-
 “ dict the King, but he appeal'd to the Presence of the
 “ Pope, and so disappointed them : And returning into
 “ *England*, he commanded that no Brief Carriers should
 “ be permitted to cross the Seas, without giving Security
 “ of good Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

Thus have I faithfully given you the whole Relation of
 what pass'd between this Prince, and Archbishop, from his
 first Rise, to his Deplorable Fall ; proceed we next to
 the Behaviour of Archbishop ABBOT in the Convoca-
 tion at the Beginning of King James I.

* Welwood's Me- * “ This Convocation goes un-
 moirs 12^o. Pag. 31. “ der the Name of *Overals* Convoca-
 and seq. “ tion ; it's very probable, that this
 Convocation was call'd, to clear some Doubt that King
 James might have had, about the Lawfulness of the
Hollanders throwing off the Monarchy of Spain, and their
 withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that
 Crown : Which was the great Matter then in Agitation
 in most Courts of *Christendom*.

It appears plainly by some of those *Canons* that the
 High-flown Notions of *Prerogative* and *Absolute Obedience*
 which became afterwards into Fashion, were not much
 known

know
 that
 King
 of D
 been
 Matte
 But t
 and t
 been.
 Ki
 touch
 bers o
 thoug
 the f
 Dr. A
 upon,

Go

I Ca
 ce
 Rex i
 concern
 but th
 mean.
 Possessi
 make
 next H
 but tba
 press'd
 general
 And I
 said ou
 But you
 you toge
 and a P
 off their
 Oppressi
 late
 Hollan

known at that time : At least the Clergy were not of that Opinion. It's true this was the first time that a King *de Jure* and *de Facto*, was ever mention'd as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church : Tho' it had been taken notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament, of *Henry VII.* But these *Canons* did never receive the *Royal Approbation*, and therefore are in the same Case as if they had never been.

King *James* thought these Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly displeas'd with the *Members* of that *Convocation* for meddling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ the following Angry Letter to the Archbishop (then *Dr. Abbot*) of which I had the good Fortune to light upon, *Viz.*

Good Dr. ABBOT,

I Cannot abstain from giving you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your *Convocation*, as you call it; and both as Rex in Solio, and unus Gregis in Ecclesia, I am doubly concern'd. My Title to the Crown no body calls in Question, but they that neither love you nor me; and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have said of a King in Possession (for that Word, I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your Canon) concerns not me at all; I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all Rights you can name, but that of Conquest; and Mr. Solicitor has sufficiently express'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingship in general, and concerning the Nature of it, ut in mea Persona : And I believe you were all of his Opinion: at least none of you said ought contrary to it, at the time he spake to you from me : But you know all of you, as I think, that my reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Christian and a Protestant King may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late *Queen's* time this Kingdom was very free in assisting the *Hollanders* both with Arms and Advice, and none of your
Coat

Coat ever told me, that any scrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from some of your selves to raise Scruples about this Matter: And albeit, I have told my Mind concerning Jus Regium in Subditos, in May last in the Star-Chamber, upon the occasion of Hales his Pamphlet; yet I never took notice of these Scruples, till the Affairs of Spain and Holland forc'd me to it. All my Neighbours call on me to concur in the Treaty between Holland and Spain; and the Honour of the Nation will not suffer the Hollanders to be abandon'd, especially after so much Money and Men spent in their Quarrel: Therefore I was of the Mind to call my Clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the World about us, of the Justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time: This I needed not have done; and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not. You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reserve among the Arcana Imperii, and whatever Aversion you may profess against God's being the Author of Sin, you have stumbled upon the Threshold of that Opinion, in saying upon the Matter, that even Tyranny is God's Authority, and should be revered as such. If the King of Spain should return to claim his old Pontifical Right to my Kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it: For you tell us upon the Matter before-hand, his Authority is God's Authority, if he prevail.

Mr. Doctor, I have no time to express my self farther in this Thorny Business. I shall give you my Orders about it by Mr. Solicitor; and until then meddle no more in it, for they are Edge Tools, or rather like that Weapon, that's said to Cut with the one Edge, and cure with the other. I commit you to God's Protection, good Doctor Abbot, and rest,

Your Good Friend,

JAMES R.

* Lord Clarendon's History, 8vo. Vol. I. Part. I. Pag. 88.

That * Historian who is now by our Clergy almost reckon'd Canonical, gives the following Character of Archbishop Abbot, who tho' he made such a Stir and Bustle, was as unfitly qualified for what he undertook

undertook as it was possible for any Person to be: *And*
as the Historian very justly observes, "He had sat too
 " many Years in the See of *Canterbury*, and had too
 " great a Jurisdiction over the Church, tho' he was with-
 " out any Credit in the Court from the Death of King
 " *James*, and had not much in many Years before. He
 " had been Head or Master of one of the Poorest Colleges
 " in *Oxford*, and had Learning sufficient for that Pro-
 " vince. He was a Man of very Morose Manners, and
 " a very Sour Aspect, which in that time was call'd
 " Gravity; and under the Opinion of that Vertue, and
 " by the Recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the
 " King's first *Scotch* Favourite, he was preferr'd by King
 " *James* to the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and
 " presently after to *London*, (and from thence to *Canter-*
 " *bury*) before he had been Parson, Vicar or Curate of
 " any Parish Church in *England*, or Dean or Prebend,
 " of any Cathedral Church; and was in Truth totally
 " ignorant of the true Constitution of the Church of
 " *England*, and the State and Interest of the Clergy; as
 " sufficiently appear'd throughout the whole Course of
 " his Life.

Such were the Qualifications of this *Ignoramus* Bishop,
 who was yet thought a very proper *Tool of a Party*, that
 through the Necessities of Impair'd Fortunes had given
 Demonstrations sufficient, of their Endowments being
 upon an Equality with the *Archbishops*, and from the Ac-
 quirements of Noise and Nonsense join'd to a sordid self
 Interest (tho' with the old Text ready in their Mouths
 of *Liberty, Property, and the Welfare of the Nation*
 lying next their Heart) these New Governours must break
 through all, to get into the State-Saddle in which how
 long they would sit, any Man of a Reasonable Capacity
 might Prognosticate from their awkward Mounting; and
 indeed to such surprizing Turns! May very well be ap-
 plied that judicious Invocation of the Poet,

Protect us Mighty Providence,

What would these Madmen have?

First they would bribe us without Pence,

Deceive us without Common Sense,

And without Power Enslave.

C

Let

Let us now survey the Management of Archbishop *Laud* his Successor.

King *Charles I.* came to the Crown under Infinite Disadvantages; and yet the Nation might have hoped that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of so much Vertue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Discontent, which were sown in his Father's time, had not every Day taken deeper Root, and acquir'd new Growth, through the Ill Management of his Ministers, rather than any wilful Errors of his own.

Some of them grew so fast, that it was no wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke: And it was in great part to the indiscreet Zeal of Bishop *Laud*, who had got the Ascendant over his Master's Conscience and Councils, that both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy* owed afterwards their Fall.

To trace this Matter a little higher; there arose in the preceding Reign two opposite Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exasperated against each other; the one headed by *Abbot*, the other by *Laud*, *Abbot* was a Person of too easie a Temper, being not well turn'd for a Court, and either could not, or would not stoop to the Humour of the Times: And now and then by an unseasonable Stiffness, gave occasion to his Enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a *Popular Interest*, and therefore not fit to be employed in Matters of Government.

On the other hand, as Bishop *Laud* was a Man so much superior in Learning that they are not to be named together, so much greater was his Ambition and Natural Parts, for he nicely understood the Art of Pleasing a Court; and finding no surer way to raise himself to the first Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary part to that of Bishop *Abbot*, he gave into every thing that seemed to favour the *Prerogative* of the Crown, or enforce an *Absolute Obedience* upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Necessities, and the Backwardness to supply them, had forc'd him upon unwarrantable Methods of raising Money; and the Readiness the Ro-

may

man
bege
war
hap
to th
A
was
was
scure
zes,
Law
that
ply v
two
adva
observ
and I
sing I
the S
II. T
the L
Rebel
for ra
Ab
Adva
the K
which
answ
Serm
from
comm
dation
succe
mean
sten'd
Th
pressi
on th
was
leave

man Catholicks express'd to assist him in his Wants, did beget in him at first a Tenderness towards, and afterwards a Trust and Confidence in them; which was unhappily mistaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclin'd to their Religion.

Among other means of raising Money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon; which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obscure Parson, in a Sermon preach'd at *Northampton* Assizes, was for making his Court by asserting not only the Lawfulness of this way of imposing Money by *Loan*, but that it was the indispensable Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the same time *Dr. Manwaring* preach'd two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanced these Doctrines, I. *That the King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command in imposing Laws and Taxes without Consent of Parliament, does oblige the Subjects Conscience, upon Pain of Eternal Damnation.* II. *That those who refus'd to pay this Loan, did offend against the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty and Rebellion, and that the Authority of Parliament is not necessary for raising of Aids and Subsidies.*

Abbot indeed was averse to these Doctrines; and for an Advantage against him, *Sibthorp's* Sermon dedicated to the King, was sent him by his Majesty's Order to License, which he refus'd. and sent back his Reasons; which *Laud* answer'd, and Licens'd both *Sibthorp's* and *Manwaring's* Sermons. Upon this, *Abbot* was confin'd and suspended from his Function; The Administration of which was committed to *Laud*, and some others of his Recommendation. Some time after *Abbot* dying in Disgrace, *Laud* succeeded him in the See of *Canterbury*, while in the mean time things went on from bad to worse, and hasten'd to a *Crisis*.

The two first Parliaments King *Charles* had call'd, pressing him hard for Redress of *Grievances*, and pushing on the Resentments, begun in the preceding Reign; he was prevail'd with not only to dissolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for twelve Years

together; and this contrary to the Advice of his best Friends and Counsellors, who foresaw the ill Consequences that might follow, if an unlucky Juncture of Affairs should necessitate him to call one: Which soon fell out in the worst manner that could be, viz.

The Scots had long been soured by the Incroachments they complain'd Men made upon their Rights and Liberties, particularly as to the Matter of *Church-Government*. *Laud's* Zeal for a Liturgical Uniformity between the Two Nations, prov'd the Fatal Torch that inflam'd Both Kingdoms: Being the sooner kindled, because there had been so much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the least Spark was sufficient to fire the Pile.

Anno 1637. The Scots had not only in a Tumultuous manner refus'd the *Liturgy* compos'd and sent 'em by *Laud*; but assum'd afterwards to themselves the Liberty and Power of holding a *General Assembly* of their Church, and therein to abolish *Episcopacy*, and commit several other things judg'd to be inconsistent with the Duty of Subjects: Upon which they were declar'd *Rebels*; and the King thought his Honour concern'd in reducing them to Obedience by the Sword.

Instead of venturing to Call a Parliament, to enable him to prosecute this Design, he was necessitated to Levy Money another way. Great Sums were rais'd by *Loan* and *Benevolence*, to which the *Roman Catholics* and the *Laudian* Faction contributed most. Thus supplied, the King march'd to the North with a Gallant Army; and the Scots came as far as the Borders in a Posture of Defence, and to prevent the Extremity of what might happen, They presented his Majesty with their Humble *Supplication* and *Remonstrance*, setting forth their *Inviolable Fidelity to the Crown*; and that they desir'd nothing more, but the *Peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties*; and that all things might be settled by a *Free Parliament*, and *General Assembly*. At length through the Intercession of the Moderate Party about the King, and some of the highest Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majesty was pleas'd to comply with the Desires of the Scots, by a solemn *Pacification*, sign'd in view of both Armies near *Berwick* in June 1638.

This

This Treaty was but short-liv'd, and ill-observ'd on either side. The same Men that counsell'd the King to the First, push'd him on to a Second War against the Scots. Parliaments had now been for some Years discontinued, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King to call any more, if this Emergency had not fallen out: But his pressing Necessities, and this New War, oblig'd him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary way.

Accordingly a Parliament met in April 1640. at the opening of which the King acquainted them, *with the Affronts he had receiv'd from the Scots, and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by force of Arms.* Both Houses shew'd a Willingness to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a considerable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances might be first redress'd;* which were mightily increas'd since the last Dissolution: Not only so, but the Scots had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great matter that shou'd be conceal'd against them; and the Majority both of Lords and Commons were but little inclin'd to a War of *Land's* kindling.

The King thus disappointed, Dissolv'd this Parliament within the Month of their sitting; and made what shifts he could to raise a New Army against the Scots: And they being resolv'd not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd *England* with a Numerous Army, compos'd for the most part of *Veteran* Officers and Troops, that had serv'd in *Germany*, under *Gustavus Adolphus*, and taking *Berwick* and *Newcastle* pushed their way as far as *Durham*.

The King came in Person to *York*, and found himself environ'd with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands: The Nobility and Gentry that attended him, express'd on all occasions their Dislike of the Cause, and the War they were engag'd in: The Scots stood firm to their Ground, being flush'd with Success: And the King was follow'd from the *South* with Petitions from *London*, several Countries, and a considerable Number of Lords, desiring him to Call a New Parliament, *as the only Effectual*

Etual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and compose the present War without Bloodshed.

The King, to Extricate himself out of this Labyrinth, summon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, and concert proper Measures for this Juncture: They unanimously advis'd him to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*; with both which Advices the King comply'd, and immediately issued out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament in *November 1640.* and adjourn'd the *Scots Treaty* to *London.*

No Age ever produc'd greater Men than the Members of this Parliament: They had Abilities and Inclinations sufficient to have render'd both the King and Nation happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for Destruction. At their first meeting a Scene of *Grievances* under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made use of to display them in the liveliest Colours. The many Cruelties and Illegal Practices of the *Star-Chamber*, and *Higb Commission Court*, that had alienated Peoples Minds from the *Hierarchy*, were now insist'd on to throw down those two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, and with them in some time after, the Bishops out of the House of Peers, and *Episcopacy* it self out of the Church. It was not a few of either House, but indeed all the Great Patriots, that concurr'd at first to make Enquiry into the *Grievances* of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capel*; Mr. *Grimstone*, who was chosen afterward Speaker of the House of Commons that brought in King *Charles II.* and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. *Holles*, since Lord *Holles*; all which suffer'd afterwards on the King's side; and in general, most of those that took the King's part in the succeeding War, were the Men that appear'd with the greatest Zeal for the Redress of Grievances, and made the sharpest Speeches upon these Subjects. The Intentions of the Gentlemen were certainly Noble and Just, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People: But the Fate of *England* urg'd on its own Ruine Step by

Step,

Step,
liame
Sir T
Laud
being
fects
first a
Thre
As
sidera
bound
Advi
Straff

* M

Ki
have
Str
Poun
Maje
are a
and
ving
befor
land
Obec
5 M
La
deny
Co
fence

Step, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be clos'd again. Sir *Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbishop *Laud* had too great a Share in the Ministry, to escape being censur'd; and they were the first that felt the Effects of a Popular Hatred. They, with Duke *Hamilton*, first advis'd the King to Call this Parliament; and all Three fell by it, tho' not at the same time.

As a farther Specimen of *Laud's* Turbulent and Inconsiderate Rashness in sacrificing a whole Nation to his boundless Ambition, it will not be amiss to insert his Advice to the King when in Conference with the Earl of *Strafford* and the Lord *Cottingham*.

* *Mr. Secretary Vane's Notes about the Earl of Strafford's Advice to King Charles, to bring over an Army from Ireland, to subdue England.*

* *Whitlocke's Memorials, Vol. II. Pag. 41.*

The Title of them was,

*No Danger of War with SCOTLAND.
If Offensive, not Defensive.*

King. How can we undertake Offensive War, if we have no more Money?

Strafford. Borrow of the City a Hundred Thousand Pounds: Go on vigorously to Levy Ship-Money. Your Majesty having try'd the Affection of your People, you are absolv'd and loose from all manner of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majesty having try'd all ways, and being refus'd, shall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out 5 Months.

Laud. You have try'd all ways, and have always been deny'd: It is now Lawful to take it by Force.

Cottingham. Levies abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom. The Lower House are weary of the

the King and Church. All ways shall be just to raise Money by, in this inevitable Necessity, and are to be us'd, being Lawful.

Laud. For an Offensive, not a Defensive War.

Strafford. The Town is full of Lords: Put the Commission of Array on Foot; and if any of them stir, we will make 'em smart.

To such Counsellors this Unhappy Prince owed all his Misfortunes! I shall conclude this Head with observing, that as Archbishop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and much his Superior in Learning; so it is as hard to determine which of the Two made a Nobler Defence at their Tryal. *Laud's* Fate has been the same with that of most great Men, to be represented to Posterity in *Extremes*; for we have nothing writ of him, but what's either *Panegyric* or *Satyr*, rather than History.

That he was brought to his Tryal, and found Guilty, during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all things were tending to Confusion, was nothing strange: Nor was Serjeant *Wild's* Introduction at the opening of his Charge, any thing but what might have been expected at such a time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be said of the Great Cause of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as it was in a like Case, Repertum est hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Histrio sonare, nec minus imitari potuerit*; but it was indeed strange, and none of the least of this great Man's Misfortunes, that 3 Years before, he should be declar'd by the House of Commons a Traytor *Nemine Contradicente*, at a time when there was not the least Misunderstanding between the King and Parliament, being within the first Month after they sat down: And which was yet stranger, that no body was more severe upon him, than some of those that afterwards took the King's Part against the Parliament, and were at last the chief Instruments of his Son's *Restoration*. Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimstone's* Speech upon Voting his Impeachment, or *Pym's* upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, "That scarce any Age has produced a Man whose Actions and Conduct have been

more

“ more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater occa-
 “ sion for it.

There was one Thread that run through his whole Accusation, and upon which most of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, his Inclination to Popery, and Design to introduce that Religion: Of which his Immortal *Book* against *Fisher* the Jesuit sufficiently acquits him. And yet not Protestants only, but even *Roman Catholicks* themselves were led into this Mistake; otherwise they would not have dar'd to offer one in his Post a *Cardinal's Cap*, as * he confesses they did twice. The introducing of a great many Pompous *Ceremonies* into the Church, the *Licensing* some Books that spoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and refusing to *License* some others writ against it, were the principal Causes of his being thus misrepresented: And indeed his Behaviour in these Matters; as likewise in the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission Court*; can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his *Theatrical* manner of Consecrating *Katherine Creed Church*; I shall close all, agreeing with the † *Historian*, that notwithstanding all these Faults, and in spite of Malice——

* *Vide Bishop Laud's Diary.*

† *Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. Pag. 90, 150.*

“ He was a Man of Great Parts, and very
 “ Exemplary Virtues, allay'd and discredited by some
 “ unpopular natural Infirmities; the greatest of which
 “ was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing him-
 “ self) that he believ'd Innocence of Heart and Inte-
 “ grity of Manners, was a guard strong enough to se-
 “ cure any Man in his Voyage through this World, in
 “ what Company soever he travell'd, and through what
 “ Ways soever he was to pass: And sure never any
 “ Man was better supplied with that Provision: He
 “ was always maligned and persecuted by those who
 “ were of the *Calvinian* Faction, and who according to
 “ their usual Maxim, and Practice, call every Man
 “ they do not love *Papist*; and, under this sense-
 “ less Appellation, they created many Troubles and
 “ Vexations; He was certainly at Heart passionately
 “ concern'd for the Church: He had usually about

D

“ him

“ him an uncourtly Quickness, if not Sharpness, and
 “ did not sufficiently value what Men said or thought
 “ of him ; by which means a more than ordinary Pre-
 “ judice and Uncharitableness was always contracted
 “ against him.

Thus, Sir, have I laid before you Three Considerable Instances of the Clergy's being the Original Cause of the Disturbances in this Nation, and I hope I shall scape free from the Imputation of Partiality, since I have been equally Just to their Vertues as Vices.

Without any Reflection, let any Man but soberly consider the Behaviour of *Thomas a Becket* to King *Henry*, and tho' there was *Faults on both Sides*, yet I am certain *Becket's* unparallel'd Insolence will meet with no one's Approbation.

And as to Archbishop *Laud*, I dare appeal to the most strenuous of his Defenders, that I have done him strict Justice: I must own, that I think we may properly compare the Use of the Clergy to the Elements of *Fire* and *Water*, viz. *That they are good Servants, but bad Masters*; and the Presidents of these two Gentlemen are not very tempting for Futurity to proceed upon, since both of them sacrificed their Lives, to the Caprice of their Ambition.

I shall now examine the Conduct of that Factious Crew, of *Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing*, who under a Pretence of *Religion* destroy'd that very Authority by which it was supported; and under Disguise, thought they might escape the Censure of being reckon'd Enemies to the Church by siding with Bishop *Abbot*, whose Misfortunes were drawn upon him, by not discerning their Hypocrisie; and in King *Charles I's* time notwithstanding their continual Clamour, and Outcry for the Preservation of their *Religion*, and serving of the *Lord*, they had no other Designs in view but to usurp themselves into an Establishment; And to whom may be justly applied that Remark of the Judicious *M. Bayle*, “ These
 “ Men desir'd at first a meer *Toleration*, but in a little
 “ time they pretended to share with us all Employ-
 “ ments and Places of Trust; at first they thought them-
 “ selves

“ selves very happy in the peaceable Enjoyment of their
 “ Lives and Fortunes, afterwards when they had got
 “ to some head, they were very unhappy if they had
 “ fewer Privileges than the Establish’d Church; and
 “ then again miserable if they were not the prevailing
 “ Party. During a certain time they were like *Cæsar*,
 “ who would have no Master; and at last they copied
 “ *Pompey’s* Example, who would have no Partner. To
 which Degree they did at length arrive, and how they
 behav’d themselves under their short-liv’d, and Tyran-
 nical Usurpation shall be my next Business to exa-
 mine.

As a Specimen of their Christian *Moderation* and *Tem-
 per*, I shall first produce a severe Edict against Tolera-
 tion, and without any other Reflection leave them to
 chew upon the Cud of their own Understanding, and
 soberly to weigh and determine if they can think them-
 selves now misus’d, since I here make their own Actions
 both Judge and Jury in the Case.

A LETTER of the Ministers of the City of *Lon-
 don*, presented the First of *January*, 1645, to the
 Reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at *West-
 minster*, by Authority of Parliament, Against
 TOLERATION.

*To our Reverend, Learned, and Religious Brethren. the Prole-
 cutor, and the rest of the Divines assembled, now sitting at
 Westminster, by Authority of Parliament, these present.*

Reverend and beloved Brethren,

WE are exceeding apprehensive of the Desirableness of
 the Church’s Peace, and of the Pleasantness of Bre-
 threns Unity, knowing that when Peace is set upon its proper
 Basis, *viz.* Righteousness and Truth, it is one of the best
 Possessions, both delectable and profitable; like *Aaron’s* Qint-
 ment, and the Dew of *Hermon*. It is true, by reason of
 different Lights, and different Sights among Brethren, there

D a

may

may be dissenting in Opinion ; yet, why should there be any separating from Church-Communion ? The Church's Coat may be of divers Colours ; yet, why should there be any Rent in it ? Have we not a Touchstone of Truth, the good Word of God ? And when all things are examin'd by this Word, then that which is best may be held fast ; but first, they must be known, and then examin'd afterwards. If our dissenting Brethren, after so many importunate Intreaties, would have been persuaded (either in Zeal to the Truth, or in sincere Love to the Church's Peace and Unity among Brethren, or in respect to their own Reputation, by fair and ingenious Dealing, or in Conscience to their Promise made to the *Ministers of London*, now five Years since, or any such-like reasonable Consideration) at last, to have given us a full Narrative of their Opinions, and grounds of their Separation ; we are persuaded, they would not have stood at such a Distance from us, as now they do : But they chose rather to walk by their own private Lights, than to unbosom themselves to us, their most affectionate Brethren, and to set themselves in an untrodden Way of their own, rather than to wait what our covenanted Reformation, according to the Word of God, and Examples of the best Reformed Churches, would bring forth. But the Offence doth not end here ; it is much that our Brethren should separate from the Church ; but that they should endeavour to get a Warrant to authorize their Separation from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing Members out of it) to weaken and diminish it, till (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing ; this we think to be plainly unlawful ; yet this, we understand, is their present Design and Endeavour. Wherefore (*Reverend Brethren*) having had such large Experience of your Zeal of God's Glory, your Care of his afflicted Church, your earnest Endeavours to promote the complete Reformation of it, and of your ready Concurrence with us, in the Improvement of any Means that might be found conducive to this End ; we are bold to hint unto you these our ensuing Reasons, against the *Toleration* of Independency in this Church.

I.

1.

settled
not the
Perfect
Satisf

2.

penden
World
Party
ners,
the P
ment

3.

selves
fully
conclu
are ni
serves
the lik
ble to
min'd

II.

1.
stabil
Civil

2.

that t
their l

3.

Sectar
good

I. The Desires and Endeavours of *Independency* for a *Toleration*, are, at this time, extremely unseasonable and preposterous; for,

1. The Reformation of Religion is not yet perfected and settled among us, according to our Covenant. And why may not the Reformation be raised up, at last, to such Purity and Perfection, that *truly tender Consciences* may receive abundant Satisfaction, for ought that yet appears?

2. It is not yet known, what the Government of the *Independents* is, neither would they ever yet vouchsafe to let the World know what they hold in that Point, though some of their Party have been too forward to challenge the *London-Petitioners*, as *led with blind Obedience, and pinning their Souls upon the Priest's Sleeve*, for desiring an Establishment of the Government of Christ, before there was any Model of it extant.

3. We can hardly be persuaded, that the *Independents* themselves (after all the Stirs they have made amongst us) are, as yet fully resolved about their own way, wherewith they would be concluded, seeing they publish not their Model, (though they are nimble enough in Publishing other things) and profess Reserves, and new Lights, for which they will (no doubt) expect the like *Toleration*, and so *in infinitum*. It were more seasonable to move for *Toleration*, when once they are positively determin'd how far they mean to go, and were they mean to stay,

II. Their Desires and Endeavours are unreasonable and unequal, in divers regards.

1. Partly, because no such *Toleration* hath hitherto been established (as far as we know) in any Christian State, by the Civil Magistrate.

2. Partly, because some of them have solemnly profess'd, that they cannot suffer *Presbytery*: And answerable hereunto is their Practice, in those Places where *Independency* prevails.

3. And, partly, because to grant to them, and not to other *Sectaries*, who are free-born as well as they, and have done as good Service as they, to the Publick, (as they used to plead) will be

be counted Injustice and great Partiality; but to grant it unto all will scarce be cleared from great Impiety.

III. *Independency* is a *Schism*. For,

1. *Independents* do depart from our Churches, being true Churches, and so acknowledged by themselves.
2. They draw and seduce our Members from our Congregations.
3. They erect separate Congregations, under a separate and undiscover'd Government.
4. They refuse Communion with our Churches, in the Sacraments.
5. Their Ministers refuse to preach among us, as Officers.
6. Their Members, if at any time they join with us, in hearing the Word and Prayer, yet they do it not as with the Ministerial Word and Prayer, nor as Acts of Church-Communion.

Now we judge that no *Schism* is to be tolerated in the Church; * *ῥιζομαχία*, 1 Cor. i. 10.
 † *Divisions*. 1 Cor. xii. 25. † *διχομαχίας*, Rom. vi. 17. with 1 Cor. iii. 3. Gal. v. 20.

IV. Many Mischiefs will inevitably follow upon this *Toleration*, and that both to Church and Common-Wealth.

First, To the Church; as,

1. Causeless and unjust Revolts from our Ministry and Congregations.
2. Our Peoples Minds will be troubled, and in danger to be subverted, as *Acts* xv. 24.
3. Bitter Heart-burnings among Brethren, will be fomented and perpetuated to Posterity.
4. The Godly, Painful and Orthodox Ministry, will be discouraged and despised.
5. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten out by frivolous Disputes and vain Janglings.
6. The whole Course of Religion, in private Families, will be interrupted and undermined,

7. Reciprocal Duties, between Persons of nearest and dearest Relations, will be extremely violated.

8. The whole Work of Reformation, especially in Discipline and Government, will be retarded, disturb'd, and in danger of being made utterly frustrate and void, whilst every Person shall have liberty, upon every trivial Discontent at *Presbyterial* Government and Churches, to revolt from us, and list themselves in separated Congregations.

9. All other *Sects* and *Heresies* in the Kingdom, will be encouraged to endeavour the like *Toleration*.

10. All other *Sects* and *Heresies* in the Kingdom will safeguard and shelter themselves under the Wings of *Independency*; and some of the *Independents*, in their Books, have openly avowed, that they plead for *Liberty of Conscience* as well for others as themselves.

11. And the whole Church of *England*, in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction and Confusion, And, *God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace*, 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

Secondly, To the Common-Wealth. For,

1. All these Mischiefs in the Church, will have their proportionable Influence upon the Common-Wealth.

2. The Kingdom will be wofully weakned, by Scandals and Divisions; so that the Enemies of it, both Domestical and Foreign, will be encouraged to plot and practise against it.

3. It is much to be doubted, lest the Power of the Magistrate should not only be weakned, but even utterly overthrown, considering the Principles and Practices of *Independents*, together with their Compliance with other *Sectaries*, sufficiently known to be Anti-Magistratical.

V. Such a *Toleration* is utterly repugnant and inconsistent with that *Solemn League and Covenant*, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, which not only both Houses of Parliament, but also Persons of all sorts in both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, have subscribed, and with Hands lifted up to the most High God, have sworn: Which Covenant, likewise, both you and we, and those that most earnestly pursue the Establishment of this *Toleration*, have made, (or should have made) *in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform*

perform the same, as we shall answer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed. For,

1. This is opposite to the Reformation of Religion, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, *Article 1.*

2. It is destructive to the three Kingdoms nearest Conjunction, and Uniformity in Religion and Government, which might lead us and our Posterity after us, as Brethren, to live in Faith and Love, *Art. 1.*

3. It is plainly contrary to that Extirpation of Schism, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, which we have sworn sincerely, really, and constantly to endeavour, without respect of Persons, *Art. 2.*

4. Hereby we shall be involved in the Guilt of other Mens Sins, and thereby be endangered to receive of their Plagues, *Art. 2.*

5. It seems utterly impossible, (if such Toleration should be granted) that the Lord should be one, and his Name one, in the three Kingdoms, *Art. 2.*

6. This will palpably hinder the Reformation of Religion; inevitably divide one Kingdom from another; and unhappily make Factions and Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant: Of which evil Offices, whosoever shall be found guilty, are reputed, in the Words of the Covenant, Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, to be discovered, that they may be brought to publick Tryal, and receive condign Punishment, *Art. 4. and 5.*

These are some of the many Considerations, which make deep Impression upon our Spirits against that great *Diana of Independents*, and all the *Seſtaries*, so much cried up by them, in these distracted Times; viz. *A Toleration, a Toleration.* And, however, none should have more rejoiced than ourselves, in the Establishment of a Brotherly, Peaceable, and Christian Accommodation; yet, this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot dissemble, how, upon the fore-mention'd Grounds, we detest and abhor the much endeavour'd Toleration. Our Bowels, our Bowels are stir'd within us; and we could even drown ourselves in Tears, when we call to mind, how long and sharp a Travel this Kingdom hath been in, for many Years together to bring forth that blessed

blest
last,
and
the
befor
W
satisf
unto
Jealo
extirp
is, an
what
Resol
scienc
gish
Chris
on of
fit of

From S
Lona
1648

Th
strati
when
what
their
in ou
too w
gainst
Enem
Conse
joy t
dulgen
land

bleſſed Fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation: And now, at laſt, after all our Pangs, and Dolours, and Expectations, this real and thorough Reformation is in danger of being ſtrangled in the Birth, by a lawleſs *Toleration*, that ſtrives to be brought forth before it.

Wherefore, (*Reverend and Beloved Brethren*) we could not ſatisfy ourſelves, till we had made ſome Diſcovery of our Thoughts unto you about this Matter; not that we can harbour the leaſt Jealouſy of your Zeal, Fidelity or Induſtry, in the oppoſing and extirpating of ſuch a Root of Gall and Bitterneſs, as *Toleration* is, and will be, both in preſent and future Ages; but that we may, what lies in us, endeavour mutually to ſtrengthen one another's Reſolutions againſt the preſent growing Evils; and that our Conſciences may not ſmite us another day for ſinful Silence, or ſluggiſh Deficiency in any point of Duty tending to the Glory of Chriſt, Honour of the Truth, Peace of the Church, Perfection of Reformation, Performance of our Covenant, and Benefit of preſent and ſucceeding Generations.

Subſcribed by Us,

From Sion-College,
London, Dec. 18.
1645.

Your affectionate Brethren, and Fellow-Labourers in the Work of the Miniſtry, to whom Truth and Peace is very precious.

The foregoing *Maniſeſto*, Sir, is a ſufficient Demonſtration of the Behaviour of thoſe *Sectaries*, who ever when in Power, put in Practice the very Reverse of what they before Inculcated: And notwithstanding all their ſpecious Pretences are no other than as the *Vipers* in our Conſtitution; for which Reason no Eye can be too watchful, or Law too ſtrict that ſhall be made againſt them, ſince 'tis much ſafer dealing with an open Enemy than a Hypocrite, thoſe few among them whoſe Conſciences are *truly ſcrupulous* ought in all Reason to enjoy the Benefit of Her Majeſty's moſt Gracious *Indulgence*, but for the *Body* of them, the *Church* of England ſhould guide themſelves by this unerring Maxim,

E

That

That in having once treacherously undermin'd and subverted the Establish'd Government of this Kingdom; the Blame justly lies against them, but if we permit 'em to play the same Game over again, *The Sin is most certainly at our own Door*: And if it shall be thought proper in this Session to deprive 'em of what they always had recourse to, some Years past as an Asylum for whatever Villanies they have transacted (by reviving the *Occasional Bill*) no Arguments can be more fitly made use of, than the foregoing ones brought by themselves against the *Independents*.

Thus does it plainly appear how prejudicial to the Nation, as well as Fatal to themselves, it has ever been when the Clergy have pretended to interfere in the *Political Administration*, That being a Province into which they have not the least Business to inquire; and nothing would be more highly resented by them, than if the *Parliament* should undertake the Management and Regulation of their *Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions*; but at the same time nothing is more Reasonable than this would be, for if they will not keep within their own *Sphere*, but be continually dictating to that *Great Assembly* what Laws they shall make and what not, by the same Rule, they ought from thence to be Limited what Doctrines are most proper for them to Preach.

As all Mankind must agree that Archbishop *Laud* was the greatest Divine in the Age he lived, at the same time they must acknowledge him the worst Politician, which Error drew as many Inconveniences upon the Church, as *Abbot's* not being sufficiently qualified for so great a Post as he fill'd; more especially in succeeding a Person of Dr. *Bancroft's* Abilities, and whose Death the * Historian declares could never be enough lamented — “ He understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the Hands of the *Calvinian Party*, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of Nonconformists, countenanc'd Men of the greatest Parts in Learning, and dispos'd the Clergy to a more solid Course of Study, than they had been accusom'd to ;

* *Clarendon*,
Vol. I. Pag 88.

“ and

“ and if he had liv’d, would quickly have extinguish’d
 “ all that Fire in *England* which had been kindled at
 “ *Geneva*, and that Infection would easily have been
 “ kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily
 “ expell’d.

Such are the Men who will be had in everlasting Remembrances, and whose Memories will ever smell sweet in the Nostrils of Posterity. And as an equal Parallel to Archbishop *Bancroft*, I think I may safely name that Perfect Model of Apostolical Piety, the late Learned and never to be enough lamented Bishop *Beveridge*, who to those Souls committed to his Charge, was continually with the most Brotherly Affection, Preaching, Rebuking, and Exhorting them to attain that *Crown of Glory laid up for the Righteous*. Herein consists the true Office and Authority of the *Priesthood*; and the following of his Example is what I most earnestly recommend to the whole Body of our *Clergy*, and that laying aside all other Disputes than what effect the Fundamental Principles and Doctrines of the *Christian Religion*; they should, in their Pastoral Care, be continually watching over, and directing their Flocks to *follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*. Then with Him shall they enter into the Joy of their Lord, be made Partakers of Immortal Glory; and shine as Stars in the Firmament!

These are the Patterns highly worthy of Imitation! who invite us to practice the Great Duties of Brotherly Love and Charity, far superior to the Treatment we now give one another, by stigmatizing ourselves with Appellations equally as false as Odious, and as my Lord *Clarendon* has very justly observed in Archbishop *Laud's* Character, that the *Calvinian* Faction in his time, made use of that senseless Appellation, of traducing every well-meaning Person with the Name of *Papist*, who express’d a more than Ordinary Zeal for the Church of *England*; so equally heinous is it on our side, to asperse those who are call’d *Low-Church-Men* as being directly in the *Presbyterian* Interest, when nothing is more certain than that they have not only the least Tendency to, but on the

contrary have the justest Abhorrence of any such Principles.

'Tis now time to hasten to a Conclusion, which I shall do after having made a short Application to Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, who, I understand, is chosen *Prolocutor* of the Convocation. If that Venerable Assembly meets, I hope they will answer the Ends of their Institution, and do something in Reality for the Good of the Church, by not only discountenancing all Irreligious Tenets, but punishing the Authors of them: Which will be much more commendable than their former Behaviour, in continually Quarrelling one with another, the *Lower House* asserting their Power and Privilege against the *Upper*, and by continual Replies and Defences on *both Sides*, spun out a long useless Controversy, which instead of being the least Service to Religion, was wholly Destructive of it; of this the Dean of *Carlisle* knows himself to have been but too Guilty. It would, Sir, be the greatest piece of Service you could do, to persuade him to apply those Extraordinary Talents with which he is endow'd, to more solid Studies than he has hitherto been accustomed; and to convince him, that turning *Examiner* and writing *Epigrams* upon *Flavia's Fan*, do not all suit with the Dignity of the *Sacerdotal Function*, as to the ungentle Treatment Mr. *Hoadly* has lately met with from him, by Slander and Calumny under an *Anonymous* Covert: I shall not take the least Notice, Mr. *Hoadly* being best able to defend himself; which indeed he has so well done, that I dare believe there never will be any Reply; but if there should, Mr. *Dean* may depend upon having all his *Siftings*, Windings, and Evasions, fully laid open, and Represented in their True Light.

To conclude: I will not enter into any Detail of the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*. I am sorry to see our Disputes run so high upon those Points; 'tis most evident, that the Assertors of an *Unlimited Obedience* are always forc'd to give Ground; and that

that the Patrons of *Resistance* by inculcating their Doctrines with so great a Vehemency, do a real Mischief to the Publick by creating Uneasinesses in the Minds of the People : For as a late * Author has Judiciously Remark'd, " The Impression of Self-Preservation is so strong upon Human Nature, as not only to supersede all other Provision, but to render it insignificant : 'Tis no Case in the Conduct of Human Life, that can be improv'd by any Reasoning, what a Man is to do when he's driven by a Sword to the Wall.

* *The Vind. and Advancement of our National Constitution*, &c. Pag. 19.

Upon the whole, since Dr. *Sacheverell* and Mr. *Hoadly* are the Marks at which all our present Controversies are levell'd, I must freely declare my Sentiments, that I think the one has rail'd Scurrilously, and the other writ Judiciously in Defence of the *Church of England*.

I shall close all with the Excellent Judgment of the † Archbishop of *York* in these Matters, (being entirely of his Opinion) which plainly demonstrates that the Clergy ought not to concern themselves with Political Affairs. — " As the Laws of

† *Vid. His 30th. of Jan. Sermon before the Lords, Anno 1700. Pag 20.*

" the Land are the Measures of our Active Obedience, so
" are also the same Laws the Measures of our Submission;
" and as we are not bound to obey, but where the Laws
" and Constitution require our Obedience, so neither
" are we bound to submit, but as the Laws and Constitu-
" tion do require our Submission. If a Preacher in the
" Pulpit should Presume to give his Judgment about the
" Management of Publick Affairs, or to lay down Do-
"ctrines as from Christ about the Forms and Models of
" Kingdoms and Common-Wealths, or to adjust the
" Limits of the Prerogative of the Prince, or of the
" Liberties of the Subject in our present Government :
" I say, if a Divine should meddle with such Matters
" as these in his Sermons, I do not know how he can
" be excus'd from the just Censure of meddling with
" things that nothing concern him. This is indeed a
" Practising in State Matters; and is usurping an Office
" that

“ that belongs to another Profession, and to Men of
 “ another Character; and I should account it every
 “ whit as indecent in a Clergy-Man to take upon him
 “ to deal in these Points, as it would be for him to de-
 “ termine Titles of Land in the Pulpit, which are in
 “ Dispute in *Westminster-Hall*.

Now, *SIR*, heartily wishing that what I have said may
 have the desir'd Effect for which it was sincerely intended,
 by contributing in some Measure towards the Healing
 our present Animosities: I subscribe my self,

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant, &c.



FINIS

**A Catalogue of Sermons Printed and Sold by H. Hills, in
Black-fryars, near the Water-side, where are several
others too numerous to insert.**

- 12 **J**ohn Tillotson, late Archbishop
of Canterbury.
- 4 Sir William Daws, Bishop of
Chester, 14 his Volume.]
- 11 Offspring Blackall Bishop of Ex-
eter (8 Esq; Boyl's Lectures.
- 5 Wedding Sermons.
- 1 William Wake, B. of Lincoln.
- 9 John Sharp Archbish. of York.
- 5 Robert Moss, D. D.
- 5 Tho. Knaggs M. A.
- 5 White Kennet, D. D.
- 4 Hen. Sachewerel M. A.
- 1 Rob. Lightfoot, B. D.
- 3 William Beveridge, D. D.
- 2 George Stanhope, Dean of Cant.
- 3 Rich. Willis Dean of Lincoln.
- 2 Phill. Stubs, M. A.
- 1 Mr. Robert Parsons, Earl of Ro-
chester's Funeral Sermon.
- 1 Ralph Lambert, D. D.
- 1 William Savage, B. D.
- 1 Symon Partrick, M. A.
- 6 Fr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle
with a Letter, and large Vindica-
tion with a 2d Letter in Answer.
- 3 George Smalldridg, D. D.
- 1 John Haslewood, D. D.
- 1 Dr. Moore, Bish. of Ely.
- 1 Will. Talbot. Bishop of Oxford.
- 2 Will. Nicholson. Bp. of Carlisle.
- 3 W. Fleetwood, B. of St. Asaph.
- 1 Anth. Horneck, D. D.
- 6 John Adams, D. D.
- 1 P Downes, M. A.
- 4 Benj. and J. Hoadly, M. A.
- 3 Tho. Tennison, A. B. of Canterbury.
- 4 S. Clark, M. A.
- 1 Blackburn, Dean of Exeter.
- 1 Rich. Jenks, M. A.
- 1 Ewan. Gastrell, D. D.
- 1 Mr. Cornwallis.
- 1 John Stilsman, B. D.

- 3 T. Manningham, D. D.
- 1 call'd the Last Century.
- 1 Robert Eyre, D. D.
- 4 Th. Trimnal, D. D. now B. of New.
- 1 S. Dunster A. M.
- 1 J. Sharp, A. M.
- 1 T. Sherlock, M. A.
- 1 R. Nelson,
- 2 Bisse, M. A. & D. D.
- 1 J. Trap, M. A.
- 1 J. King, M. A.
- 1 W. Wotton, B. D.
- 3 W. Tilly.
- 1 Willett, M. A.
- 1 H. Stephens.
- 1 Character of a Virtuous Woman.
- Christianity in short.
- 2 Sprat, B. Rochester.
- 1 J. Rawson, D. D.
- 1 T. Rennell, M. A.
- 1 W. Whitfield.
- 2 T. Bray, D. D.
- 2 Ed. Stillingfleet, D. D.
- 1 J. Pelling, D. D.
- 1 Fr. Hare, A. M.
- 3 S. Colby, M. A.
- A Letter from the Pastors and Pre-
fessors of Geneva to the King of
Prussia, with the King's Answer.
- 1 Wheatly's Passing-Bell.
- 1 Jackson
- 1 Nichols, D. D.
- 1 The Virgin Mary.
- 1 Loyd's 30 Jan.
- 1 Peter's Pattern.
- 1 Harrison.
- 1 Lake, D. D.
- 1 Nath. Wheyley, M. A.
- 1 Sam. Hilliard, M. A.
- 1 Arch Bp. Laud.
- 1 Hough Bp. of Lichfield.
- 1 Smalbroke.
- 1 Chisbull.

*A Catalogue of Poems, &c. Printed and Sold by H. Hills,
in Black-Fryars, near the Water-side; where several
more may be had that are not here Inserted.*

A Congratulatory Poem on
Prince George of Denmark;
&c. on the Success at Sea by
N. Tate.

Marlborough Still Conquers, by
J. Gaynam.

The Flight of the Pretender.

Honesty in Distress, a Tragedy.

The Kit-Cats a Poem: To which is
added several rhings.

Wine, a Poem: To which is added
several more.

Cyder, a Poem, in 2 Books, with
the Splendid Shilling, &c.

The Pleasures of a Single Life, with
a Country Life.

Faction Display'd.

Moderation Display'd.

The Duel of the Stags, by Sir Ro-
bert Howard; Together with
an Epistle to the Author by J.
Dryden.

Coopers-Hill, by Sir J. Denham.

An Essay on Poetry, by the Earl of
Murlgrave.

Abraham and Achitophel, by J.
Dryden.

The Plague of Athens, by Dr.
Sprat, Bishop of Rochester.

A Satyr against Man and Woman.

The Forgiving Husband.

Instructions to Vanderbank.

The Temple of Death, by the Mar-
quis of Normanby.

An Essay on Translated Verse, by
the Earl of Roscomon.

Horace: Or the Art of Poetry;
by Ditto.

The History of Insipids, a Lam-
poon, by the Lord Rochester,
&c.

Milton's Sublimity asserted, in an-
swer to Cyder, a Poem.

Canary Birds Naturaliz'd.

Baucis and Philemon, &c.

Circus, a Satyr: Or the Ring in
Hide Park.

St. James's Park, a Satyr.

The Spleen, a Pindarique Ode,
&c.

A Letter from Italy, to my Lord
Halifax, with other Poems.

Blenheim, a Poem, by Phillips.

Mac Flecknoe, by J. Dryden; with
Spencer's Ghost, by J. Oldham.

The Female Reign, an Ode, by
Sam. Cobb.

The Battle of Audenard, a Poem.

The Upstart, a Satyr.

A Poem on the Taking St. Mary's
Windsor Castle, a Poem.

The Servitor, a Poem.

The Pulpit War.

The Campaign, a Poem, by Mr.
Addison.

The Counter-Scuffle, a Poem.

Don Francisco Sutorioso.

Consolation to Mira mourning, a
Poem.

A Panegyrick on Oliver Cromwel,
by Edm. Waller, Esq; with three
Poems on his Death, by Dryden,
Sprat, and Waller.

A Poem in Defence of the Church
of England, in Opposition to
the Hind and Panther, &c.

The Apparition, a Poem.

The Hind and Panther Transvers'd
to the Story of the Country
Moufe and City Moufe.

Dr. Gath's Dispensary.